

# THE MILITANT

A SOCIALIST NEWSWEEKLY PUBLISHED IN THE INTERESTS OF WORKING PEOPLE

**INSIDE****New books 'draw lessons from decades of US class struggle'**

— PAGES 8-9

VOL. 78/NO. 24 JUNE 23, 2014

## 'Militant' appeals issue ban at Colo. federal prison

BY BRIAN WILLIAMS

The *Militant* is challenging a decision by the warden at the U.S. Penitentiary in Florence, Colorado, to deny an issue of the paper to a subscriber incarcerated there — the first time federal prison authorities have openly sought to interfere with delivery of the socialist newsweekly.

On May 19, the *Militant* received a notification from the warden dated Feb. 7, along with the rejected Dec. 30 issue to subscriber Jeremy Valerio. The notice said "this publication is deemed inappropriate for the orderly running of the institution due to it containing articles pertaining to Revolutionary Communist Party in the USA and the need to overthrow the system."

On June 12, Attorney David Goldstein, of the firm Rabinowitz, Boudin, Standard, Krinsky & Lieberman, filed an administrative appeal with Paul Laird, regional director of the Federal Bureau of Prisons in Kansas City, Kansas, demanding the ban be

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## *Chernobyl: Tale of two opposite class responses*

BY FRANK FORRESTAL AND JOHN STUDER

CHERNOBYL EXCLUSION ZONE, Ukraine — Few live within the 1,000 square-mile area surrounding the world's worst nuclear disaster that occurred here nearly three decades ago. Passing through what used to be cattle ranches, wheat and potato fields and small villages now abandoned and overrun with vines and weeds, two contrasting images come to mind.

On one hand, the brutality and contempt for working people by the Soviet government in Moscow. The carelessly flawed design of the nuclear reactor that led to the meltdown. The decision to skip construction of a containment vessel that would have impeded the release of radiation. The refusal to immediately evacuate the area or take any measures to prevent residents from consuming contaminated milk and vegetables. The callous and bureaucratic displacement of hundreds of thousands, treating

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## 'Challenge to Ukraine has brought us together'

Bosses target workers, separatists sow chaos in east



Militant/John Studer

"Ukrainians are more conscious, more self-confident" as a result of Maidan protests that ousted President Yanukovych in February, Sergey Akamovich, an official of Chernobyl nuclear workers' union, said June 8 in Slavutych at 26th anniversary celebration of town's founding.

BY JOHN STUDER

SLAVUTYCH, Ukraine — "The parade and festival are much bigger this year, and more spirited. More workers from the Chernobyl nuclear plant, like me, are wearing traditional Ukrainian shirts or carrying Ukrainian flags," said Sergey Akamovich, a member of the central committee of the ATOM Trade Union. On June 8, residents here were celebrating the 26th anniversary of the town, founded for plant workers and their families forced out of areas evacuated after the

1986 Chernobyl nuclear power plant disaster.

The reason for the raised spirits "is the big events in the Maidan," Akamovich said, referring to mobilizations that ousted the unpopular regime of Ukrainian President Viktor Yanukovych in February. "Ukrainians are more conscious, more self-confident."

"They need to be," he said, pointing to the attacks and provocations in the eastern provinces of Donetsk and Luhansk by paramilitary gangs entering

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## Hundreds gather in DC for 3rd '5 Days for the Cuban 5'



June 7 march and rally in Washington, D.C., called for freedom for Cuban Five.

BY NED MEASEL AND MARTÍN KOPPEL

WASHINGTON, June 8 — Several hundred people from more than 30 countries converged here in early June for a week of activities demanding the release of three Cuban revolutionaries, who remain behind bars after nearly 16 years, framed up and imprisoned by the U.S. government.

The "5 Days for the Cuban 5" was organized by the International Committee for the Freedom of the Cuban 5 and supported by groups across the U.S. and around the world. Events

began with a June 4 press conference and included a two-day conference, a rally in front of the White House, a concert by the hip-hop group Dead Prez, and two days of lobbying visits to members of Congress by parliamentarians from Latin America and Europe.

In recorded messages, René González and Fernando González — two of the Five now back home in Cuba after completing their entire sentences, some 15 years in U.S. custody in each case — urged conference

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## *San Francisco transit job action catches Muni bosses by surprise*

BY JEFF POWERS

SAN FRANCISCO — A highly successful "sickout" by bus and trolley workers here June 2-4 over city demands for contract concessions caught city authorities unaware.

On the first day of the action, hun-

dreds of members of Transport Workers Union Local 250-A called in sick over what workers say amounts to a pay cut. According to Municipal Transit Agency spokesman Paul Rose, 440 out of 600 buses and trolleys and all of the city's popular cable cars were not in service that day.

A week earlier, Local 250-A members by a vote of 1198-47 rejected the

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## *Turkish miners fight for safety: 'Greed of money, not human life, is boss priority'*

BY SETH GALINSKY

Amid determined protests and widespread outrage over the deaths of 301 workers in a fire May 13 at the Eyne coal mine in Soma, Turkey, the Turkish government and courts have sought to deflect blame away from the government, by detaining some, mostly lower level, company officials, freezing the company's assets and

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Grocery workers in LA rally for contract 11

# NY Puerto Rican Day wins support to free Oscar López

BY SETH GALINSKY

NEW YORK — Thousands of people here learned about the frame-up of Puerto Rican political prisoner Oscar López Rivera during the 57th annual National Puerto Rican Day Parade, opening the door to winning greater support for the fight to win his freedom. López has been jailed in the U.S. for 33 years, 12 of them in solitary confinement.

For the first time the parade officially paid tribute to the long-time independence fighter, and its board of directors called for his release. Some 350 people marched in the “Free Oscar López” contingent, drawing attention from onlookers who lined the 35 blocks of one of New York’s largest parades, which draws hundreds of thousands each year.

López, 71, was arrested on May 29, 1981, and accused of being a leader of the Armed Forces of National Liberation (FALN), a group that was fighting for independence of Puerto Rico, a U.S. colony since 1898. Because they had no evidence that López was involved in bombings attributed to the group, U.S. prosecutors charged him with “seditious conspiracy,” as well as lesser weapons violations.

López’s case is more widely known in Puerto Rico, where actions demanding his release have been growing and church officials, prominent artists and performers, and politicians from every political party on the island — including those that oppose independence — have backed calls for his release.

While not as well-known in the

U.S. — even among those of Puerto Rican descent in New York — his case attracted attention along the parade route with some onlookers chanting along with the contingent, “33 years, Oscar López must be free.” A handful of parade-goers did not like the message and shouted, “No, no, no!” when the contingent passed.

## I want more information

“I never knew about him,” Lilly Morales, 30, said after seeing the contingent. “Now I want more information.” After hearing details of the frame-up, she said, “It’s not right to lock him up like that.” The crowd eagerly took the 5,000 palm cards with basic facts on the case passed out by contingent participants.

“Supporters of the fight to free Oscar, came from Chicago, Philadelphia, Boston, San Juan and Aguadilla, Puerto Rico, Springfield, Massachusetts, and Connecticut, as well as the New York area,” Ana López, spokesperson for the New York Coordinator to Free Oscar López, which organized the parade contingent in collaboration with the National Boricua Human Rights Network, told the *Militant*.

The contingent included large delegations from the Puerto Rican Cultural Center from Chicago, the Nationalist Party in New York, 33 NYC Women for Oscar, the Puerto Rican Independence Party, and El Maestro cultural center and boxing club. There were also delegations from the Socialist Workers Party, Wrongful Conviction,



Militant photos by Seth Galinsky

For first time this year, New York Puerto Rican Day Parade, one of city's largest annual events, paid tribute to independence fighter Oscar López, who has been imprisoned for 33 years. Top, some 350 people march as part of “Free Oscar López” contingent. Bottom, palm cards are handed out with facts about U.S. government frame-up of López and fight to free him.

ProLibertad and others. Congressman Luis Gutiérrez from Chicago marched at the head of the contingent along with José López, Oscar’s brother. New York City Council Speaker Melissa Mark-Viverito, René Pérez from popular hip hop group Calle 13 and 1199SEIU United Healthcare Workers East Vice President María Kercado joined the contingent in the home stretch.

Last September the AFL-CIO labor federation convention approved a resolution calling for López’s “immediate and unconditional release.” And former South African Archbishop Desmond Tutu has called for his release.

“I just learned about Oscar López a year ago,” said Desiré Garced, one of the participants in the parade con-

tingent. “I respect a lot what he represents.”

The *New York Post* showed its disdain toward the growing support for López’s release by publishing an article the day of the parade titled “Fool’s Parade: Officials Sully Puerto Rican Day with Their Support of a Terrorist.” The *Post* didn’t bother to report the main thought-control charge he was convicted of.

Armando Arcelay, 65, a small cattle rancher, flew from Puerto Rico to join the Oscar López contingent. “Oscar did not commit any crime except to defend his homeland,” he said. “Just like the marches forced the U.S. Navy out of Vieques, we have to continue marching until Oscar is free.”

## THE MILITANT

### Protest killings, brutality by cops!



Militant/Eric Simpson  
Families of people recently killed by cops lead protest in Salinas, Calif., May 25.

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# Workers, youth prepare for Active Workers Conference

BY EMMA JOHNSON

"There is so much I want to learn. That's what I expect from the conference," said Shirelynn George, one of several hundred workers and young people preparing to take part in the June 19-21 Active Workers Conference in Oberlin, Ohio, sponsored by the Socialist Workers Party.

The gathering will bring together regular readers of the *Militant*, participants in labor and political struggles, those active in defense of the Cuban Five, and members and supporters of the communist movement from the U.S. and Canada, several countries in Europe, Australia and New Zealand.

Conference reports panels, classes and informal discussions, aim to strengthen the work to increase readership of the *Militant* and books on working-class struggles and the fight for socialism around the world; recruit members and a widening milieu of co-militants and supporters to the communist movement; and increase involvement in workers' struggles and other political activity.

"I came across the *Militant* in the early 1990s and had a subscription," said George. "But then I lost it and couldn't find it again for many years. But a few years back I came across it when I attended the Brooklyn book fair and signed up for a subscription. Since then I've been reading it."

Over the last couple years she has been part of building events in support of the Cuban Revolution and joined oth-

er activities with members of the SWP.

A health care worker in New York and member of Service Employees International Union Local 1199, George came to the U.S. from Grenada 25 years ago. As a teenager, she was among tens of thousands of working people who actively participated in the 1979-83 Grenada Revolution, led by Maurice Bishop.

"The revolution was and still is very important to me," she said. "I saw how ordinary farmers and workers suddenly meant something and how people across the whole island were drawn into it. And I saw how the Cuban revolutionaries stood in solidarity with our revolution."

"I really respect the *Militant*. I learn a lot from it," said Manuel Aguilar, 34, who works for a company that produces specialized oil field vehicles in Houston. "I read that there will be a discussion about Ukraine at the conference and I am especially interested in this. People there did very positive things fighting for their rights and their country."

Aguilar is active in *Estamos Unidos Mexicanos*, a community group that fights abuses by the cops, the bosses and the government, with focus on helping children whose parents have been deported, and supports workers' struggles.

The fight for Ukrainian sovereignty and for democratic rights there, in Russia and throughout the countries of the former Soviet Union demonstrate the space that has opened up for working people in the region to organize, discuss

Calif. socialist: 'We should back workers in Ukraine'



Militant/Betsey Stone

SAN FRANCISCO — Eleanor García, Socialist Workers Party candidate for governor of California, attended a rally of several dozen supporters of Ukrainian sovereignty here June 8. "Workers in Ukraine are fighting on two fronts," she told the protesters. "They are defending their country against anti-Ukraine separatist gangs as they resist assaults by bosses on their living standards and working conditions. Workers in the U.S. have an interest in supporting their struggles."

Earlier in the day, García visited a bus barn to show solidarity with Municipal Transportation Agency bus and trolley drivers in a fight against union busting.

"You are fighting for all working people when you stand up to the attacks," García told bus drivers as they waited to begin their shift at the 22nd Street barn. "I've seen how the company and media say your fight hurts the 'public.' But the 'public' is divided into classes. What you are doing is in the interest of the working class."

"A similar thing is happening where I work in aerospace," García said. "They are paying the newer workers less and trying to get the older workers to retire. It's important to stand up to this."

— BETSEY STONE

and engage in political activity — something that was closed under decades of Stalinist rule by a privileged bureaucracy that falsely claimed to be communist.

The conference will discuss how the

communist movement can respond to the greater political space open for workers, farmers, women and oppressed nationalities throughout the world — from eastern Europe to Egypt and India, from Bangladesh to Turkey.

Organizing to win broader support in the working class for the fight to free the Cuban Five and the moral example of the Cuban Revolution will also be central to discussions.

Six classes will supplement the main political talks given by central leaders of the SWP. Classes are:

• There Are No "Laws" for the Transition From Capitalism to Socialism

• Chernobyl, Angola, Rectification, and the Course Led by Fidel and Che: The Weight of Subjective and Moral Factors in the Proletarian-Led Transition to Socialism

• The Fight for Women's Emancipation, 1986 and 2014: What's Changed?

• The Westward Expansion of Communism in Canada Comes Closer

• Defending the Party and Its Program: Socialism on Trial and 50 Years of Covert Operations in the US

• Communism and Revolutionary Centralism: In Defense of Marxism and Struggle for a Proletarian Party

"I think the conference is an opportunity to get intense information, perhaps a lot more than I can absorb in two or three days," said Yasemin Aydinoglu, a nurse in Elmira, New York, who came to the U.S. from Turkey 13 years ago. "I will find some answers to my questions, for example from the second trip to Ukraine."

"I've read the *Militant* off and on for several years. Over the last period I've read it more carefully," she said. "The news is from the point of view of the workers, which you cannot find in the popular media. It helps me to create a link between the workers of the country I grew up in and the one I live in now."

For information, contact *Militant* supporters in your area, listed on page 6, or write to the *Militant*, 306 W. 37th St., 13th Floor, New York, NY 10018.

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by Jack Barnes

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### The Cuban Five

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# Five days for the Cuban 5

Continued from front page

participants to broaden the campaign to free their three brothers: Gerardo Hernández, Ramón Labañino and Antonio Guerrero (see "Who Are the Cuban Five," below). Guerrero also sent greetings on behalf of the Five from the federal prison in Marianna, Florida.

Some 200 people from 31 countries registered for the June 5-6 conference, organizers said. Most have long been working to win release of the Five. Participants came from a number of U.S. cities, as well as several dozen from Europe and Latin America, including a number of parliamentary deputies and government officials. The largest delegation was a group of mayors and legislators from the Farabundo Martí National Liberation Front, the governing party of El Salvador.

Speaking on conference panels were numerous lawyers, authors, professors, Democratic Party figures, artists and retired military personnel. Prominent religious figures included Rev. John McCullough, president of Church World Service; Rev. Graylan Hagler of the United Church of Christ in Washington, D.C.; and Rev. Joan Brown Campbell, former general secretary of the National Council of Churches. The conference was held at the downtown Calvary Baptist Church.

## The honor of generations

José Ramón Cabañas, chief of the Cuban Interests Section in Washington, addressed the opening session. Recounting a visit to Fernando González a few days before his release last February, Cabañas said Fernando told him that while his body had been behind bars, "my soul, my spirit, my principles were never in prison."

"Their will was never broken, not even in isolation cells and separated from their families," Cabañas said about the Five. "They represent the honor of several generations of Cubans born during the revolution."

Rev. Joan Brown Campbell and actor Danny Glover, who has visited Hernández in prison numerous times, also spoke at the opening session.

Panel topics included "Prospects for U.S.-Cuba Relations," "History of Ter-

rorism against Cuba and the Case of the Cuban Five," "Books Dispelling Misinformation Against Cuba" and a legal update on the case.

A highlight of the two-day gathering was the intervention of Rafael Cancel Miranda, a longtime leader of the Puerto Rican independence struggle, who pointed to the example of the Cuban Revolution for those fighting against imperialist oppression and exploitation worldwide. Cancel Miranda himself spent more than 27 years in U.S. prisons for his actions protesting U.S. colonial domination of Puerto Rico. He spoke about the history of resistance to U.S. rule and the growing campaign today to free independence fighter Oscar López.

## The legal battlefield

Martin Garbus, lead attorney for the Five, described the harsh conditions Gerardo Hernández has been subjected to in the maximum-security prison in Victorville, California, where he is serving a double life sentence on frame-up charges of conspiracy to engage in espionage and conspiracy to commit murder. Garbus noted the "extraordinary demeanor" and inner strength of Hernández, and the respect he has earned from fellow prisoners and even some guards.

Garbus outlined the habeas corpus appeal currently pending before the federal court in Miami. The appeal is based in part on evidence, which came to light following the conviction of the Five, that several Miami reporters, whose articles helped fuel bias against them during their trial, were receiving payments from a government agency.

Joining Garbus on that panel were Rafael Anglada López, a Puerto Rican independence fighter and longtime member of the Cuban Five defense team, and Peter Schey, director of the Los Angeles-based Center for Human Rights and Constitutional Law.

The conference took place under a banner that proclaimed "A New Era in U.S.-Cuba Relations." Numerous speakers addressed why, in their opinion, the second term of the administration of President Barack Obama



Militant/Osborne Hart

represented such a turning point.

"A new window has opened," said Alicia Jrapko, coordinator of the International Committee for the Freedom of the Cuban 5, in her opening remarks. "We have to seize the moment now, before it closes, and ask the Obama administration to find a humanitarian solution and end the injustice" against the Five.

"We have to have the president's back," said Mavis Anderson, a senior associate of the Latin America Working Group, a congressional lobbying organization. "Only Obama can do something. He can free Hernández, Labañino, and Guerrero by signing an executive order."

Tom Hayden, former Democratic state senator in California and director of the Peace and Justice Resource Center, most clearly put forward the argument that winning the freedom of the Five can only be achieved through electoral gains for the Democratic Party.

"Normalization of relations between the U.S. and Cuba is already underway," Hayden said, referring to the conference banner. "It is taking place secretly and there is a deadline. Three years from now, neither Barack Obama nor Raúl Castro will be in office."

In that period of time, a "principled accommodation" can be reached between the two governments, he said, "one that will end with a big opening to capitalism — let's say it out loud."

Hayden pointed to the U.S. Chamber of Commerce delegation that had just returned from Cuba. "We are in an alliance with the Chamber of Commerce," he said. "They want an end to the travel ban and the opening of trade." Hayden ended by saying there are no guarantees and that this "historic opening" could be lost if any one of three things happens: "One, time runs out. Two, they succeed in destabilizing and overthrowing the Venezuelan government. Three, we lose the Senate to the Republicans in November."

The next day Ignacio Ramonet, Spanish author and former editor of *Le Monde Diplomatique*, who spoke at the closing plenary session, echoed the political course advanced by Hayden from a different angle.

Ramonet pointed to the economic steps the Cuban government has been obliged to take in the last several years to obtain much needed investment in basic infrastructure. "Change is underway in Cuba," he said. "It is

becoming more like Venezuela and Bolivia." Citing other capitalist countries of the region, including Brazil, Argentina and Chile, Ramonet added that "what is needed is for Cuba to get in step with the progressive countries" of Latin America.

## Alan Gross and the Cuban Five

Numerous speakers took up the case of Alan Gross — a U.S. government contract agent serving a 15-year sentence in Cuba for his role in a covert program to undermine the Cuban government — and argued that the defense campaign should focus on appealing to the White House to release the three imprisoned members of the Cuban Five in exchange for Gross.

Wayne Smith, former head of the U.S. Interests Section in Havana, and retired Col. Lawrence Wilkerson, former chief of staff to Secretary of State Colin Powell, both pointed to the Obama administration's recent prisoner swap of five Taliban leaders for U.S. Army Sgt. Bowe Bergdahl, saying it set a good precedent for an exchange of Gross for Gerardo Hernández, Ramón Labañino and Antonio Guerrero.

Tom Hayden, who was on the panel with Smith and Wilkerson, argued the opposite. The administration's political bungling of the U.S.-Taliban prisoner deal, he said, meant they were less likely, not more, to consider trading Gross for the remaining Cuban Five.

Saturday's rally at the White House and march to the Justice Department was joined by many who had been unable to take time off work to attend weekday activities that were part of the "5 Days for the Cuban 5."

The spirited rally was joined by many who came from the Washington area as well as a busload of about 50 from New York and some 20 from Miami organized by Alianza Martiana, a Cuban-American group that opposes the U.S. embargo. Defenders of the Five came from Philadelphia and other cities as well.

Several from New York had decided to attend the rally after seeing a recent showing of prison paintings by Antonio Guerrero at the Jackie Robinson Community Center in Manhattan. Triessy Nelson, 30, a hair stylist, came with her daughter in a stroller. "That was the first time I heard about the Cuban Five. I was inspired and wanted to do more. They need to be set free," she said.

Several Latin American parliamentary deputies, Cancel Miranda and others gave brief remarks at the rally.

## Who are the Cuban Five?



Gerardo Hernández, Ramón Labañino, Antonio Guerrero, Fernando González and René González are Cuban revolutionaries who during the 1990s accepted assignments from the Cuban government to gather information on the operations and plans of Cuban-American paramilitary groups based in southern Florida. These rightist outfits, organizing on U.S. soil with virtual impunity, have a long record of carrying out bombings, assassinations and other attacks, both against targets in Cuba and supporters of the Cuban Revolution in the United States, Puerto Rico and elsewhere.

On Sept. 12, 1998, the Five were arrested by the FBI. They were framed up and convicted on a variety of charges, which included acting as unregistered agents of the Cuban government and possession of false identity documents. Without a shred of evidence, three were charged with "conspiracy to gather and transmit national defense information."

Hernández was also convicted of conspiracy to commit murder, based on the pretext that he bore responsibility for the Cuban government's 1996 shoot-down of two Brothers to the Rescue aircraft that had invaded Cuban airspace in disregard of Havana's repeated warnings. He is serving two life terms plus 15 years. His wife Adriana Pérez is barred from entering the United States.

René González returned to Cuba in May 2013. Fernando González returned Feb. 28.

# 'Cuban Five are fighters – in and out of prison – I like that'

Antonio Guerrero's paintings exhibited in Philadelphia

BY JANET POST  
AND OSBORNE HART

PHILADELPHIA — A monthlong exhibit of prison paintings by Antonio Guerrero, one of the Cuban Five, opened May 30 at the Christ and St. Ambrose Episcopal Church in the Puerto Rican community here. More than 70 people viewed the exhibit of 15 watercolors, "I Will Die the Way I've Lived," during the first weekend, including many of the participants in the June 1 Fiesta de la Santa Cruz (Festival of the Holy Cross) held on the church grounds.

"This is part of our social responsi-

bility," Father José Díaz, pastor of the church, said in welcoming people to the opening. "We're proud St. Ambrose was able to sponsor this exhibit."

Díaz said he appreciated seeing Guerrero's interpretation of what the Cuban Five prisoners had faced during their first 17 months of incarceration, conditions faced by many others in prison around the world.

"The exhibit shines a light on the social struggles that workers around the world are participating in," Rev. Roger Zepernick, Urban-Ministry director at the church, told the meeting. Zepernick is also a well-known supporter of freedom for Puerto Rican independence fighter Oscar López Rivera.

Chris Hoeppner of the Socialist Workers Party reviewed the frame up of the Cuban Five and invited participants to attend the "5 Days for the Cuban 5" activities in Washington, D.C., the following week. "As Gerardo Hernández, one of the Cuban Five serving a double-life term said, we need to build a 'jury of millions' to win their freedom," he said.

Attending the opening was Ada Bello, a longtime gay rights activist originally from Cuba. Bello said she "really wants to tell others about this." She bought an



Militant photos: Above, Janet Post; inset, Barb Graham  
Above, June 1 festival held at church grounds. Many took opportunity to view exhibit inside church. Inset, Father José Díaz welcoming people to May 30 exhibit opening.

extra copy of the Pathfinder book *The Cuban Five: Who They Are, Why They Were Framed, Why They Should Be Free* to give to a friend.

So far 25 Pathfinder books and four subscriptions to the *Militant* have been sold at the exhibit, which will continue at the church until the end of June.

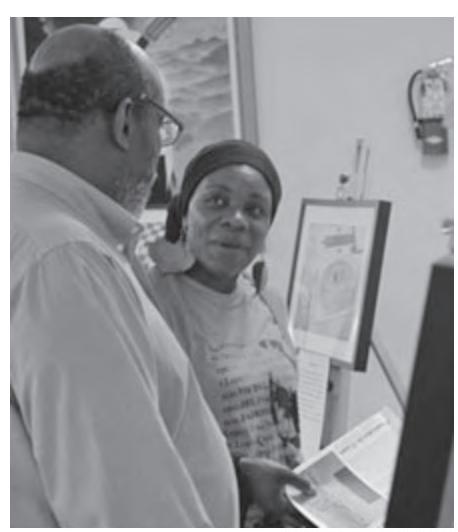
One of Guerrero's paintings will become part of a permanent display there, after the exhibit ends.

On May 31, the bilingual Girl Scout troop that meets at the church toured the exhibit and asked questions about the Cuban Five.

During the June 1 festival, supporters

of the Five set up an outdoor literature table, including books by Pathfinder Press and the watercolor entitled, "Number!" Through discussions there, some 40 fiesta participants decided to view the entire exhibit. The weekly planning meetings prior to the fiesta often heard brief presentations on the fight to free the Five and discussed ways to make the exhibit a success.

"I didn't know about the five Cubans before," said Edgar Rios, a retired city worker attending the fiesta who viewed the paintings. "They are fighters, I like that. Even in prison, they don't stop telling the truth through these paintings."



Militant/Barb Graham  
Participants view paintings at May 30 event.

## Exhibits of paintings by Antonio Guerrero, one of the Cuban Five *I Will Die the Way I've Lived*



**Omaha, Nebraska**

**June 8-14**

McFoster's Natural Kind Café, 302 S. 38th St.

**Philadelphia**  
**May 30-June 30**

Exhibit hours: Wed., Thurs. 11AM-1PM. Christ & St. Ambrose Episcopal Church, 3454 N. 6th St. Tel.: (215) 226-1444 or (215) 848-2922.

**Auckland, New Zealand**  
**May 17-mid-June**

Exhibit hours: Tues.-Sat. 10AM-4PM. Tivoli, 2/118 Ocean View Road, Pendragon Mall, Oneroa, Waiheke Island. Tel.: (09) 372 3361.

**London**  
**June 15-July 13**

Exhibit hours: Mon.-Fri. 9AM-6PM. Sun. 10AM-4PM. Sat. (call to check). Event with representative from Cuban Embassy, Sat., July 12, 2:30PM. Bernie Grant Arts Centre, Town Hall Approach Road, Tottenham N15 4RX. Tel.: (020) 8365-5450.

## Supporters of Cuba join debates at LASA conference

BY ILONA GERSH

CHICAGO — Supporters of the Cuban Revolution were able to advance the international fight to defend the revolution and free the Cuban Five at the Latin American Studies Association international congress held here May 21-24.

The gathering drew 4,000 Latin American studies professors, students, publishers and others from the United States, Latin America, the Caribbean, Asia and the Middle East. Among the participants were 122 delegates from Cuba, who made a substantial political contribution to the three-day event, which included nearly 800 panel discussions, scheduled from early in the morning to late at night.

To disorganize the Cuban delegation, the State Department denied visas to two leading academics, who have come to the U.S. many times, and waited until just days before the congress opened to grant visas to most others. The delegation was nevertheless the biggest ever at

a LASA congress, registering the progress of the association's long-term battle against U.S.-government restrictions on Cuban academic exchanges.

Cuban defenders of the revolution took part in dozens of panel discussions on a range of topics from U.S.-Cuba foreign relations to economic and agricultural reforms in Cuba, racism, the place of women in the revolution, culture, youth in Cuba today, Cuba's relations with other countries in Latin America and the Caribbean, and many others. Panels on U.S.-Cuba relations produced lively discussions, as did those on Cuba's foreign relations with Venezuela, Vietnam, China and Russia.

One panel of Cuban delegates entitled "The Cuban Economy That's Coming: New Rules of the Game," provoked an animated discussion about the challenge to increase productivity in light of the U.S. economic blockade and the devastating blows to the country's infrastructure by the economic crisis of the last quarter century. Participants debated the place of agricultural cooperatives, efforts to reduce underemployment and whether there is a "model" for Cuba to follow.

An exhibit hall featured scores of publishers from universities around the world. This year, for the first time, LASA organized a program that allowed exhibitors to give book presentations.

Pathfinder Press, which publishes books on revolutionary struggles of the working class and its allies, had a booth and sponsored a presentation of two of its newest books: *Voices From Prison: The Cuban Five* and *I Will Die the Way I've Lived* by Antonio Guerrero. It drew some 50 delegates from Cuba, the United States, Argentina, Costa Rica, Nicaragua, China and other countries.

"We must break out of the circles of solidarity groups and reach much deeper

into broad public opinion," said Raúl Garcés, dean of the communications department at the University of Havana and featured speaker at the book presentation, speaking on behalf of the Cuban delegation.

"Unlike most others who exhibit at the LASA conference, Pathfinder Press is not a university publishing house," explained Mary-Alice Waters, editor of the new books and the publisher's president. "The only university Pathfinder is associated with is the university of life and struggle of the working class and its allies. That's why prominent among our publications are more than 60 titles in print on the Cuban Revolution."

The Pathfinder booth was visited by a steady stream of conference delegates from more than 15 countries. Many were interested in getting involved in the campaign to free the Cuban Five. Top sellers were *I Will Die the Way I've Lived* and *Voices From Prison*.

One delegate from China bought 14 books. A professor of Latin American studies at Yeditepe University in Istanbul, Turkey, was very pleased to see the *Militant* newspaper's front-page article on the coal mine disaster that killed more than 300 miners in Soma, near her hometown. She bought a copy of the paper and planned to order a subscription through her university library.

On the last day, a reception and rally to welcome the Cuban delegation drew 150 people, including participants in the LASA congress and defenders of the Cuban Revolution from the Chicago area and Upper Midwest region. The "Evening in Solidarity with Cuba and the Cuban Five" — organized by the National Network on Cuba; Cuba solidarity committees from Chicago, Milwaukee and Minneapolis; and other groups — was planned to coincide with the LASA congress. It was held down-

Continued on page 10

# Workers need state power that fights bureaucracy, dies away

The Revolution Betrayed: What is the Soviet Union and Where Is It Going? is one of Pathfinder's Books of the Month for June. In the excerpt printed here, author Leon Trotsky takes up the challenges facing the victorious October 1917 proletarian revolution in Russia in consolidating a state power of a very different kind, one that represented the political power of the toiling majority that would advance the struggle for world socialism and lay the basis for its own withering away. But with the victory of the Stalinist counterrevolution the opposite happened. Workers were pushed out of politics and the state apparatus was reinforced and expanded to serve the interests of a privileged bureaucracy. Copyright © 1937 by Pathfinder Press. Reprinted by permission.



Based on lessons of 1871 Paris Commune, Lenin wrote in *State and Revolution* that after taking power the working class must tear down capitalist state apparatus and replace it with its own state power that draws working people into running society, combats bureaucracy and lays basis for its own withering away. Above, barricade in Paris before Commune was overthrown.

## BOOKS OF THE MONTH

BY LEON TROTSKY

Lenin, following Marx and Engels, saw the first distinguishing feature of the proletarian revolution in the fact that, having expropriated the exploiters, it would abolish the necessity of a bureaucratic apparatus raised above society — and above all, a police and standing army. "The proletariat needs a state — this all the opportunists can tell you," wrote Lenin in 1917, two months before the seizure of power, "but they,

the opportunists, forget to add that the proletariat needs only a dying state — that is, a state constructed in such a way that it immediately begins to die away and cannot help dying away." (*State and Revolution*.) This criticism was directed at the time against reformist socialists of the type of the Russian Mensheviks, British Fabians, etc. It now attacks with redoubled force the Soviet idolators with their cult of a bureaucratic state which has not the slightest intention of "dying away."

The social demand for a bureaucracy arises in all those situations where sharp antagonisms require to be "softened", "adjusted", "regulated" (always in the interests of the privileged, the possessors, and always to the advantage of the bureaucracy itself). Throughout all bourgeois revolutions, therefore, no matter how democratic, there has occurred a reinforcement and perfecting of the bureaucratic apparatus. "Officialdom and the standing army —" writes Lenin, "that is a 'parasite' on the body of bourgeois society, a parasite created by the inner contradictions which tear this society, yet nothing but a parasite stopping up the living pores."

Beginning with 1917 — that is, from the moment when the conquest of power confronted the party as a practical problem — Lenin was continually occupied with the thought of liquidating this "parasite." After the overthrow of the exploiting classes — he repeats and

explains in every chapter of *State and Revolution* — the proletariat will shatter the old bureaucratic machine and create its own apparatus out of employees and workers. And it will take measures against their turning into bureaucrats — "measures analyzed in detail by Marx and Engels: (1) not only election but recall at any time; (2) payment no higher than the wages of a worker; (3) immediate transition to a regime in which *all* will fulfill the functions of control and supervision so that *all* may for a time become 'bureaucrats', and therefore *nobody* can become a bureaucrat." You must not think that Lenin was talking about the problems of a decade. No, this was the first step with which "we should and must begin upon achieving a proletarian revolution."

This same bold view of the state in a proletarian dictatorship found finished expression a year and a half after the conquest of power in the program of the Bolshevik party, including its section on the army. A strong state, but without mandarins; armed power, but without the Samurai! It is not the tasks of defense which create a military and state bureaucracy, but the class structure of society carried over into the organization of defense. The army is only a copy of the social relations. The struggle against foreign danger necessitates, of course, in the workers' state as in others, a specialized military technical organization, but in no case a privileged offi-

cer caste. The party program demands a replacement of the standing army by an armed people.

The regime of proletarian dictatorship from its very beginning thus ceases to be a "state" in the old sense of the word — a special apparatus, that is, for holding in subjection the majority of the people. The material power, together with the weapons, goes over directly and immediately into the hands of workers' organizations such as the soviets. The state as a bureaucratic apparatus begins to die away the first day of the proletarian dictatorship. Such is the voice of the party program — not voided to this day. Strange: it sounds like a spectral voice from the mausoleum.

However you may interpret the nature of the present Soviet state, one thing is indubitable: at the end of its second decade of existence, it has not only not died away, but not begun to "die away." Worse than that, it has grown into a hitherto unheard of apparatus of compulsion. The bureaucracy not only has not disappeared, yielding its place to the masses, but has turned into an uncontrolled force dominating the masses. The army not only has not been replaced by an armed people, but has given birth to a privileged officers' caste, crowned with marshals, while the people, "the armed bearers of the dictatorship," are now forbidden in the Soviet Union to carry even nonexplosive weapons. With the utmost stretch of fancy it would be difficult to imagine a contrast more striking than that which exists between the schema of the workers' state according to Marx, Engels and Lenin, and the actual state now headed by Stalin. While continuing to publish the works of Lenin (to be sure, with excerpts and distortions by the censor), the present leaders of the Soviet Union and their ideological representatives do not even raise the question of the causes of such a crying divergence between program and reality. We will try to do this for them.

The proletarian dictatorship is a bridge between the bourgeois and the socialist society. In its very essence, therefore, it bears a temporary character. An incidental but very essential task of the state which realizes the dictatorship consists in preparing for its own dissolution.

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# Turkey miners fight for safety

**Continued from front page**  
promising to enact safety regulations.

The Eynez mine has been sealed. Workers at two other state-owned mines in that town run by Soma Holding have refused to return to work until improvements are made and inspections show it is safe.

The fire dangers in the Eynez mine "were known by all the officials," says a lawsuit filed against the company and the state-owned Turkish Coal Enterprises by Gamze Degirmen, whose husband Ismail Degirmen died in the mine. "Although stopping production and taking precautions for labor safety were needed, the defendants did not do so in order to reach the production target and make a profit."

According to the lawsuit, Ismail Degirmen had warned the company two months before the disaster about unsafe conditions and frequent fires.

"It was well known that the safety conditions were poor at Eynez," an underground miner at a nearby mine owned by Imbat said in a June 10 phone interview from Kinik. He did not want his name used to avoid reprisals from the company. Fifty-two miners from Kinik, a small farm village about a half-hour drive from Soma, died in the disaster.

"Even though where I work the safety conditions are a little better," he said, "everything is of concern. You worry about the possibility of a roof collapse, a gas leak."

Many workers suffer from black lung, he said. "I don't know how many have died. They call it an 'occupational disease.'

"When the greed of money is involved, that is always their priority, not human life," he said. "Not only in Turkey, but all over the world."

After the fire, some 1,600 out of 6,000 workers at Imbat refused to work, many of them relatives of the dead miners or from the same village. They wanted improved safety.

"But now they are going back to work," he said.

Outrage over the disaster at Soma continues to grow as more information comes to light about the company's and government's disregard for workers' lives. There was no safe room in the mine. Oxygen masks were antiquated. Fires and methane gas leaks were frequent. Government mine inspectors gave the mine a clean bill of health just two months before the explosion. Miners receive little, if any training.

The company owner bragged about producing more coal at lower cost after taking over operations.

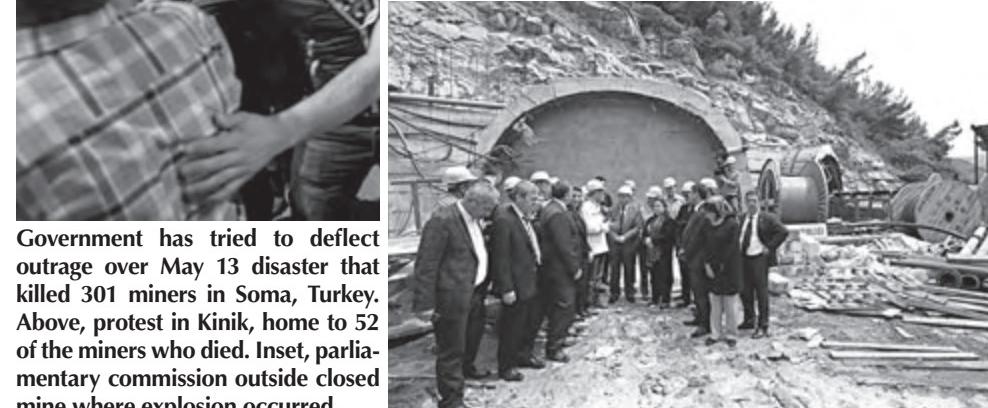
The Confederation of Progressive Trade Unions of Turkey, Confederation of Public Workers' Trade Unions, the Turkish Medical Association, and Union of Chambers of Turkish Engineers and Architects called a one-day strike May 15. Protest actions, strikes

and sit-ins took place across the country from Edirne in the northwest and Zonguldak along the Black Sea to Diyarbakir in the heart of the Kurdish majority areas and Antalya province in the south.

The Confederation of Turkish Trade Unions, the largest union federation in the country, called on its members to stop work for three minutes a day for one week starting May 15 to protest this "new workplace murder." Its affiliate, the Turkish Mine Workers Union, organizes many of the workers in Soma.

Eight officials of Soma Coal Mining Co. have been arrested, including CEO Can Gurkan, General Manager Ramazan Dogru and some mine engineers and two shift managers. No formal charges have been filed yet.

When Prime Minister Recep Tayyip Erdogan visited Soma the day after the fire he publicly said that "accidents" are normal and "death is the destiny of coal miners" and was filmed physically striking a miner amid anti-government protests. But now the ruling



Government has tried to deflect outrage over May 13 disaster that killed 301 miners in Soma, Turkey. Above, protest in Kinik, home to 52 of the miners who died. Inset, parliamentary commission outside closed mine where explosion occurred.

Justice and Development party has put a bill before parliament that would limit the use of contract workers in the mines, reduce the retirement age, cut down work hours, and provide

compensation for relatives of killed miners.

*Yasemin Aydinoglu in Elmira, New York, contributed to this article.*

## 'Militant' appeals censorship of issue at federal prison

**Continued from front page**

reversed on the basis that it not only violated the First Amendment rights of both Valerio and the *Militant*, rights that protect free speech and freedom of the press, but contravened the Bureau of Prisons' own rules.

According to prison regulations, "the Warden may reject a publication only if it is determined detrimental to the security, good order, or the discipline of the institution or if it might facilitate criminal activity."

The appeal pointed out that the warden is not only required to provide reasons why a publication fits this criteria, but, according to the same regulations, "may not reject a publication solely because its content is religious, philosophical, political, social or sexual, or because its content is unpopular or repugnant." Furthermore, the warden must indicate "specific article(s) or material(s) considered objectionable." But the notice neither gave a coherent reason nor made reference to any articles.

As it happens, nowhere in the banned issue is there any reference to the Revolutionary Communist Party. "But if there were," said *Militant* editor Doug Nelson, "on what basis can prison authorities ban a paper because it reports on some organization — be it the Republican Party, al-Qaeda, or anyone else? I find it hard to believe they would ban the *New York Times* or the *Daily News* if they wrote about the Revolu-

tionary Communist Party.

"The *Militant* has no affiliation to the Revolutionary Communist Party or its paper *Revolution*," said Nelson. "There may be some confusion there. The fact is, *Revolution* and other papers like *Prison Legal News*, *The Bay View* and *Prison Focus*, have had to fight their own battles against censorship. And we support all these fights."

Over the last year, the *Militant* has won administrative appeals against similar attempts to censor the paper in state penal facilities in Washington state and Florida. But, as the appeal pointed out, "the *Militant* has been delivered to inmates in the Federal prison system at least since the 1950's, and to our knowledge, no Federal prison has ever refused delivery of any issue of *The Militant* to any inmate."

"This appeal is part of a broader fight the *Militant* has joined with other publications and organizations to defend the free-speech rights of prisoners and the press," said Nelson. "When rights of workers behind bars are under attack, the rights of all working people are under attack and must be answered."

"We've found prison authorities are doing this kind of thing more and more," Nelson continued. "Whatever the reason, I think they're misjudging the situation. The political climate today is one of widespread sympathy for the rights of prisoners and their fights for dignity."

That the warden "believed that un-

identified articles 'pertained' to 'the need to overthrow the system,' without any explanation as to what he might have been referring to ... is insufficient," the appeal said. "Further, banning the issue because of mere advocacy, discussion or reporting of a political viewpoint, including that of the desirability of 'overthrow[ing] the system,' whatever that inherently vague phrase might mean ... could not satisfy constitutional requirements."

"Like the reference to the Revolutionary Communist Party, I don't know what the warden is referring to," said Nelson. "The paper doesn't advocate violence. We speak to the working class and society at-large on the need for revolutionary change, to replace the dog-eat-dog system of capitalism with socialism. We're open about our program, aims and goals. Workers in and outside prison walls are open to what we have to say. And we're going to keep saying it."

The appeal notes that the Supreme Court in 1989 ruled that "publishers who wish to communicate with those who, through subscription, willingly seek their point of view have a legitimate First Amendment interest in access to prisoners."

"We hope and expect that all issues of *The Militant* are being delivered to all subscribing inmates at the Florence, Colorado, facility," the appeal says, "as well as all other Federal prisons."

The *Militant* has 98 subscribers at about 50 federal and state penal facilities in the U.S., with 15 of them in federal prisons. At the time Valerio was denied his issue he was one of two subscribers in Florence. Now there are three.

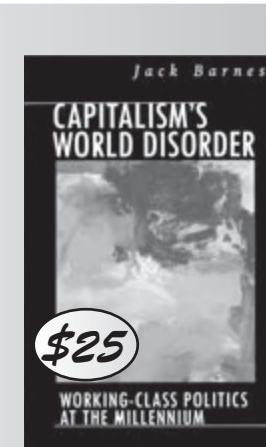
"The subscriber base among workers behind bars keeps growing," said Nelson. "We're proud of that."

### For further reading ...

"Better sex offenders programs, better substance abuse programs, better job training programs for prisoners — these reforms are all designed to do the same thing as gangs in the prison yard and corruption in the cell blocks. Everything is organized to turn cons against one another, to reinforce the worst, dog-eat-dog values of bourgeois society, to differentiate the incarcerated. The fight of the working class is the opposite."

— Jack Barnes from Capitalism's World Disorder

**Order from [www.pathfinderpress.com](http://www.pathfinderpress.com)  
or a distributor listed on page 6**



### 'Militant' publishing break

This is a three-week issue of the paper, as we will be attending the Active Workers Conference. The next issue of the *Militant* will be mailed out July 3.

### Contribute to the **Militant Prisoners' Fund**

Send a check or money order to the *Militant* earmarked "Prisoners' Fund" to the *Militant*, 306 W. 37th St., 13th Floor, New York, NY 10014

# New books ‘draw lessons from decades of US

## Havana book fair presentation discusses how revolutionaries defend themselves in rulers’ courts,

Two new books — *Fifty Years of Covert Operations in the U.S.* and a new edition of *Socialism on Trial* — have just been released by Pathfinder Press in both English and Spanish. Spanish translations of the titles were first introduced by a panel presentation at the Havana International Book Fair in February. Speakers included Luis “Lucio” Martínez Menocal, a retired general of Cuba’s Ministry of the Interior; Elier Ramírez, a historian at Cuba’s Council of State; and Mary-Alice Waters, a member of the Socialist Workers Party National Committee and president of Pathfinder. Rodolfo Zamora, assistant director of the Cuban publisher Ciencias Sociales, chaired the event. Printed below is Waters’ talk. Copyright © 2014 by Pathfinder Press. Reprinted by permission.

BY MARY-ALICE WATERS

Let me introduce our discussion with a few words about the importance of these books in the United States and why Pathfinder has kept them in print for decades. One of them, *Socialism on Trial*, has been in print for more than seventy years.

These two titles are in fact part of a trilogy that Pathfinder is presenting at this book fair. The third book is *Voices From Prison: The Cuban Five*. It will be presented here on Thursday, with the participation of René González, and I hope that many of you will be present.

Why a trilogy? Because all three books are about the same truth.

Neither the “capitalist justice” meted out to the Cuban Five over three US administrations — that of Clinton, of Bush, and of Obama — nor the exemplary way the five revolutionaries have acted in face of it, are something new for the workers movement in the US or around the world. As these three books amply demonstrate, the courtroom is not where innocence and guilt are decided. It is not where justice will be found.

No verdict or sentence, however, could prevent any of the Five from being who they are, yesterday, today and tomorrow, fighting for the same things, believing the same deeply held convictions, proclaiming them openly to the entire world, no matter where they find themselves, no matter for how long.



“The way the Cuban Five have acted in prison, and the respect they have won from fellow inmates, is but one more proof of their revolutionary caliber.” Above, René González, left, one of Five, and Rodolfo “Roddy” Rodríguez, right, with fellow inmate at Marianna, Florida, federal prison.



Inset: Associated Press

**Above**, Teamsters defend themselves against cop assault during 1934 strike in Minneapolis. Teamsters’ strike and subsequent organization of workers across Midwest was at center of rise in working-class struggle and political consciousness in U.S. **Inset**, President Franklin Roosevelt that year signed laws increasing federal police powers against labor movement. At end of 1930s, class-struggle leadership forged in Teamsters’ battles organized opposition within unions to U.S. war drive.

That is the truth that runs through each of these books.

They are about the way revolutionary fighters and communists go to prison.

How we prepare ourselves for something that is not unusual in the life of any working-class fighter. Not unusual in the life of anyone who believes in something important enough to go to jail for.

How we defend ourselves in the judicial proceedings that are instruments of bourgeois repression.

How we fight in that arena too, even if the ground is not of our choosing. How we use those legal proceedings to expose the hypocrisy of the capitalist rulers and the class character of the “democracy” and “rule of law” they profess to believe in.

How we take advantage of our time in the dock to speak to the working class, to openly proclaim our political program and our goals — as communists have done from the time of Marx and Engels and the famous trial in Cologne, Germany, following the defeat of the revolutions of 1848; to Fidel’s [Castro] defense of the road taken at Moncada in *History Will Absolve Me*; to Nelson Mandela’s “I am prepared to die” statement from the dock at the 1964 trial that condemned him to prison for life; to the trial and



sentencing of the Five Heroes of the Cuban Revolution in Miami some fourteen years ago.<sup>2</sup>

Everything the Five have done is in the finest tradition of revolutionary working-class fighters over more than a century and a half of struggle — the steadfastness and dignity with which they defended their revolutionary principles and rebutted the charges fabricated by US authorities, their refusal to cop a plea, their insistence before the court that they would take the same course again if it would save even a single life in Cuba.

As we see in the pages of *Voices From Prison*, the way they have acted in prison, and the respect they have won from fellow inmates, is but one more proof of their revolutionary caliber.

Taken together, the three books we’re talking about today span nearly a century of class struggle in the US.



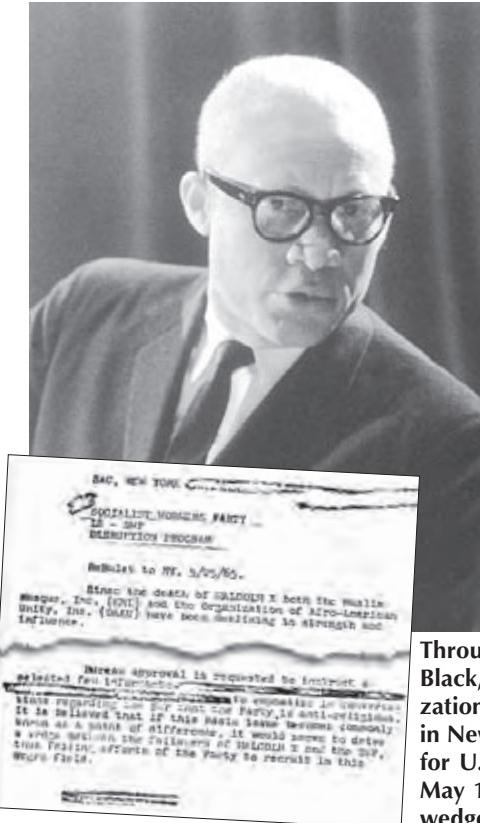
Eighteen leaders of Teamsters Local 544 are to advocate the overthrow of the U.S. government. At front, from left, V.R. Dunne, J. testimony to explain and defend party's re-imprisonment of 18 registered a turning point.

But they are not about the past. They are tools that help us to understand what is happening today and prepare us for the battles that are ahead.

*Fifty Years of Covert Operations in the US* traces the expansion of Washington’s political police starting in the years following the first imperialist World War and the victory of the October 1917

Bolshevik Revolution in Russia. During those years the US capitalist class sought to crush not only the newborn communist organizations in the US but also carried out a witch hunt against anarcho-syndicalist militants and the foreign born.<sup>3</sup> This marked the rise of what by the mid-1930s became the Federal Bureau of Investigation, with J. Edgar Hoover at the center of cop operations by the FBI and its forerunners from 1919 until his death in 1972.

The new book focuses on the years between the late 1930s, as the Demo-



Throughout 1960s, Black, and anti-war organizations. Above, Malcolm X, in New York, for U.S. presidential election. May 1965 telling wedge between

1. Fidel Castro and other revolutionary combatants were taken prisoner after carrying out an assault on the Moncada army garrison in Santiago de Cuba July 26, 1953. “History Will Absolve Me” was Castro’s courtroom speech during his trial in October 1953 where he laid out the program of the revolutionary struggle that triumphed in 1959. In South Africa in June 1964, Mandela and seven other leaders of the African National Congress were convicted of sabotage and sentenced to life imprisonment.

2. See page 4: “Who Are the Cuban Five?”
3. During the Palmer Raids of 1919-20, the FBI arrested more than 3,000 working-class militants, deporting 750 of them.

# class struggle, help prepare for battles ahead'

## use dock to expose hypocrisy of 'capitalist justice' and bring political program to working class



and Socialist Workers Party framed up for "conspiracy to commit espionage" march to courthouse, Dec. 31, 1943, to begin trial of James P. Cannon and Carl Skoglund. Cannon used trial to expose capitalist government's secret political program, published in *Socialism on Trial*. "It was a turning point in the buildup of political police," said Waters.

ocratic administration of President Franklin Roosevelt prepared to drag the US working class into the imperialist slaughter of World War II, and the 1970s, when the "Watergate" crisis that led to the 1974 resignation of President Richard Nixon exploded.

At the end of the 1930s, the great concern of the US capitalist class was the expanding strength and rising political consciousness of a component of the industrial union movement, centered in the upper Midwest, and led by the truck drivers union in Minneapolis. The class-struggle leadership of those union forces, with members of our party — the Socialist Workers Party — at the center, had not only won significant hard-fought battles to unite and organize workers, small farmers, and the unemployed throughout the entire central states and southwest regions of the United States — a territory larger than India. They had also organized a workers defense guard of hundreds that drove the fascist bands, backed by the employ-

ers, out of the city, and had begun moving toward political action independent of the capitalist Democratic and Republican parties.

Of greatest concern to Washington, however, they were effectively organizing political opposition within the unions to the US rulers' drive to war.

### Labor opposition to World War II

During the trial that is at the center of *Socialism on Trial*, James P. Cannon, the national secretary of the SWP, stated this in the clearest terms:

"It is absolutely true that Hitler wants to dominate the world," he told the court. "But we think it is equally true that the ruling group of American capitalists has the same idea, and we are not in favor of either of them. We do not think that the Sixty Families who own America want to wage this war for some sacred principle of democracy."

"And we think they are the greatest enemies of democracy here at home," in the United States.

On December 8, 1941, the day after Pearl Harbor, at the very hour that the US congress was declaring war on Japan, eighteen leaders of Local 544-CIO and the Midwest Teamsters battles and of the Socialist Workers Party, including Cannon, were sentenced to prison on fabricated charges of conspiring "to teach, advocate and encourage" the overthrow of the US government by force and violence.

*Socialism on Trial* contains Cannon's testimony under direct and cross-examination at the trial, clearly and forcefully presenting the communist program of the fighting vanguard of the working class.

The conviction and imprisonment of the eighteen registered a new turning point in the buildup of Washington's political police. World War II brought a vast expansion of US government informers and agents operating in the unions and factories. It brought stepped-up assaults on organizations fighting for Black rights that refused to subordinate the struggle against racism and segregation to the war aims of the US ruling class — a course paralleled by other national liberation struggles, from Ireland and Quebec and Puerto Rico to India, Indonesia, Algeria and beyond.

### 'National security state'

*Fifty Years of Covert Operations in the US* describes the rapid growth and consolidation of US imperialism's "national security" apparatus in the years following the military, political, and economic victory over its capitalist rivals — both "foes" and "allies" alike — in World War II.

The postwar anticommunist witch hunt, often referred to as McCarthyism, was not directed first and foremost at artists and writers or communist "spies," although I've discovered that is a popular perception here in Cuba. Its first objective was halting and then rolling back the gains of the powerful labor upsurge of the 1930s and integrating the labor bureaucracy more seamlessly into the imperialist state apparatus.

The US rulers succeeded in accomplishing that objective with relatively



In the 1960s, FBI's Cointelpro program targeted labor, anti-war movements, as well as SWP and other organizations. Malcolm X, right, speaks at Militant Labor Forum in January 1965. Clifton DeBerry, left, SWP candidate for president in 1964, chaired. Inset, FBI document dated 1964, titled 'Agents to carry out disruption tactics "to drive a wedge between the followers of Malcolm X and the SWP."



Above, SWP leader Farrell Dobbs testifying in lawsuit brought by party against FBI and other government agencies. Suit exposed government spying and won "a ruling that stands to this day and keeps open political space for working people to speak, organize and fight on our own terrain, on the picket lines and in the streets," said Waters. Truth about government policy brought to light by suit are contained in new book *50 Years of Covert Operations in the US*.

minor resistance from the ranks of the labor movement — in large part because of the nefarious role played by the Communist Party-led unions in industry during the war. The officialdom of these unions had earned the well-deserved hatred of millions of workers by spearheading the imperialist government's wartime wage freeze, speedup, strike breaking, and by their determination to subordinate antiracist struggles to the Roosevelt and Truman administrations.

When their former wartime allies in the liberal wing of the US ruling class turned on the Communist Party

and its leadership, they discovered their isolation and paid a heavy price for it.

### Socialist Workers Party lawsuit

*Fifty Years of Covert Operations in the US* contains a wealth of information about the US class struggle that we hope will be of interest and of use to readers here in Cuba as elsewhere. Some of the enlightening documentation it presents, especially testimony by ranking officials of the US Justice Department about government policies, is the product of a suit brought by the Socialist Workers Party

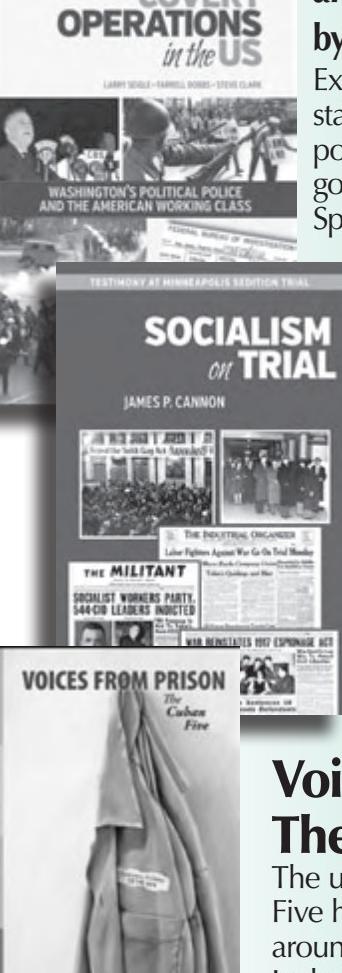
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## 50 Years of Covert Operations in the US

### Washington's Political Police and the American Working Class

by Larry Seigle, Steve Clark, Farrell Dobbs

Explains the origin of the "national security" state in the U.S., the expansion of presidential powers and the fight by socialist workers against government spying and harassment. Also in Spanish \$12.



## Socialism on Trial

### Testimony at Minneapolis Sedition Trial

by James P. Cannon

The revolutionary program of the working class, as presented during the 1941 trial — on the eve of U.S. entry into World War II — of leaders of the Minneapolis labor movement and the Socialist Workers Party on frame-up charges of "seditious conspiracy." Also in Spanish \$16.

## Voices From Prison: The Cuban Five

The unbending dignity and integrity of the Cuban Five has won them the respect of thousands around the world as well as fellow prisoners. Includes accounts of three who have known them behind bars. Also in Spanish. \$7. Special offer \$5.

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# Class responses to Chernobyl

Continued from front page

working people like cattle. The paltry resources to treat victims of radiation and assist those whose lives were turned upside-down. And the indifference for the lives and livelihoods of Ukrainian and Russian workers who risked their lives to contain the disaster and clean up the mess — which continues to this day.

In contrast is the image of unparalleled and selfless medical aid and humane care given to more than 25,000 victims of the disaster by the revolutionary government on the small island of Cuba — which continues to this day.

The April 26, 1986, disaster unfolded during a test of the control system as reactor No. 4 was being shut down for routine maintenance. A sudden power surge led to a meltdown of the reactor core and an intense 10-day fire that released large amounts of radiation, which were carried far by winds. More than 130 workers at the plant were sickened by high doses of radiation, according to the United Nations Scientific Committee on the Effects of Atomic Radiation. Twenty-eight were dead within three months. Another 19 died over the next two decades. And more than 6,000 children and adolescents contracted thyroid cancer from iodine-131, which was inhaled or ingested, mostly through contaminated milk and vegetables.

The town of Pripyat, built one mile from Chernobyl's reactors to house the facilities' 50,000 workers and their families, was not evacuated until 36 hours after the explosion. Residents were told they only needed clothing for three days and then they could return. They never went back.

## Contribute to 'Militant' reporting team in Ukraine

Worker-correspondents are back in Ukraine to report on the continuing fight by working people there to defend the country's sovereignty and resist bosses' attacks. Their first reports appear in this week's issue.

Help defray the substantial costs of this unique coverage. Send a check or money order to: The *Militant*, 306 W. 37th St., 13th floor, New York, NY 10018.

About 115,000 were evacuated from the surrounding area and 220,000 total from Ukraine, Belarus and Russia.

Visitors approaching the crippled Chernobyl plant are stopped at checkpoints marking two exclusion zones, the first at 30 kilometers (18.6 miles), the second at 10 kilometers (6.2 miles). To enter the zones requires government-issued passes and accompaniment by an approved guide.

## 25,000 treated in Cuba

As cases of thyroid cancer started growing, which takes several years to develop, the Cuban government responded in a manner consistent with its unbroken record of internationalist working-class solidarity. The first group of 139 children arrived for treatment in Cuba on March 29, 1990. When the Ukrainian government didn't have planes to transport them, Cuba sent two planes, one just finishing repairs in Uzbekistan that had not yet been painted. The children were greeted by Cuban President Fidel Castro when they landed.

Over the past 24 years Cuba has treated more than 25,000 people affected by the disaster, including at least 21,340 children, at a special clinic established at Tarará, near Havana. Cuban doctors have also been working in Ukraine.

Even at the height of what Cubans call the "special period" of economic hardship when the Soviet Union collapsed, there was no letup in the program providing free medical treatment to all who needed it.

"I knew about the Cuban program for the children," said Mikhail Remezenko, a union official of the Nuclear Power Workers union and former worker at the Chernobyl nuclear power plant who accompanied *Militant* correspondents. "Children with serious radiation illnesses came back with greatly improved health. So many were cured. We are very satisfied with what the Cubans did."

Olga Svyntytska, who lives in Prybirsk and works resettling former residents from the exclusion zone who want to move back to the region, said her cousin went to Cuba as part of the program. Viktoria Babek, who lives in Slavutych, and is vice chair of the Chernobyl Nuclear Power Workers union, said many knew about the program from watching TV. "We were glad to see how the Cuban government took the



Militant/John Studer

Signs with names of towns evacuated after Chernobyl nuclear disaster. Soviet government waited 36 hours to evacuate area near plant and 2 1/2 weeks for those within 30 kilometer radius. No measures were taken to prevent residents from consuming contaminated milk and vegetables. Over following years, well after health threat had subsided, hundreds of thousands were bureaucratically cleared out from parts of northern Ukraine, western Russia and Belarus.

really sick kids and how their stay there improved their health," she said.

At the Chernobyl Museum in Kiev, the solidarity from Cuba is featured in a large display panel, with photos, letters from family members, and a copy of the Cuban daily *Granma* from March 31, 1990, showing a gathering of Ukrainian mothers with their children. Irina Ivasenko, president of the Ukrainian Association of Children of Chernobyl, tells *Granma* she is struck by how such a small country has such a huge heart.

## Workers fight pay, pension cuts

The authors of this article hooked up with Remezenko at Chernobyl Park in the exclusion zone, which was opened on the 25th anniversary of the explosion. A long row of signs carry the names of the 187 towns in Ukraine and Belarus that were evacuated. Another monument marks the murderous effects of Washington's nuclear assault on Hiroshima and Nagasaki in 1945.

"Twenty-eight firefighters from the plant and from two fire departments in Chernobyl and Pripyat were killed fighting the fires after the explosion," Remezenko told us. In their honor, firemen donated money to build a life-size monument in front of their fire station. The government refused to pay for it.

Like many of the nuclear workers, Remezenko lives in Slavutych, a town of 25,000 built to house workers forced to abandon Pripyat.

"We are among the lowest paid and worst-treated nuclear workers," Sergey Akamovich, an executive committee member of the union, told us. "We don't produce any energy to sell so we don't make them any profit."

But there is still room for corruption, he said. Only 60 percent of the government's allocation for Chernobyl makes it to the plant each year. The rest, he said,

"disappears."

Some 2,700 workers from Slavutych work at Chernobyl, dismantling the remaining reactors, processing leftover nuclear fuel and preventing new radioactive leaks. It is a slow and dangerous process. All four reactors are closed; the last shut down in 2000. Two reactors — No. 5 and No. 6 — were under construction at the time of the explosion and still stand, partially built and surrounded by a gaggle of cranes.

Approximately 200 tons of fuel, plutonium and other highly radioactive fission by-products remain in the bowels of the destroyed reactor No. 4.

Somewhere between 600,000 to 800,000 workers — known as liquidators — were involved in the cleanup effort. Thousands of coal miners were drafted from across Ukraine to dig a tunnel under the wreckage and install a coil to cool the concrete floor and reinforce cracks.

At first they were granted special government benefits because of the danger of the work, including two years of pensions for each year they worked. But nuclear workers more and more had to fight successive Ukrainian governments over wages and pensions. In February 1999, workers set up tent camps outside government offices in Kiev and the country's five nuclear plants demanding they be paid more than \$15 million in outstanding wages.

The fighting example of workers who have been involved in the cleanup and maintenance of the Chernobyl nuclear site is part of the political struggle taking shape in Ukraine today. Protests by liquidators took place from 2011 through 2013 from Kiev to Kharkiv to Luhansk, opposing the pension cuts ordered by President Viktor Yanukovych, who was overthrown in popular anti-government demonstrations in February.

# Defending Cuba at LASA conference

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town at the Grace Episcopal Church.

Speaking on behalf of the Cuban delegation were Tony Romero, professor of economics at the University of Havana and organizer of the delegation to the LASA congress; Nancy Morejón, one of Cuba's most prominent poets and president of the Writers Section of the Cuban Union of Artists and Writers, who read three of her poems about the Cuban Five; and Alberto Roque, a leader of Cuba's National Center for Sex Education.

Other speakers included Gloria La Riva, coordinator of the National Committee to Free the Cuban Five; Alejandro

Molina, co-coordinator of the National Boricua Human Rights Network, which is fighting to free Puerto Rican independence fighter Oscar López Rivera, imprisoned in the U.S. for 33 years; John Beacham of the ANSWER Coalition; and Mary-Alice Waters.

The gathering also heard special greetings sent by Antonio Guerrero and Ramón Labañino.

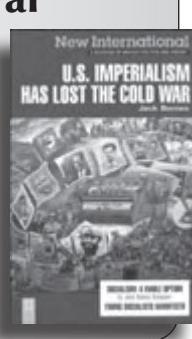
Many of the Cuban delegates planned to travel to other cities and universities before returning home.

The next LASA international congress will be held in San Juan, Puerto Rico, May 27-30, 2015.

## FURTHER READING

### Cuba's Internationalist Foreign Policy 1975-80 Fidel Castro Speeches

Since the revolution triumphed in 1959, proletarian internationalism has guided the foreign policy of socialist Cuba. Castro explains Cuba's internationalist missions in Africa, the anticapitalist revolutions by workers and farmers in Grenada and Nicaragua in 1979; and Cuba's defense of the Vietnamese people. \$23



### U.S. Imperialism Has Lost the Cold War in New International no. 11

Contrary to their hopes, imperialism has not been able to impose crushing defeats on working people and the labor movement in Eastern Europe, the former Soviet Union or a single imperialist country. Includes: "Ours is the Epoch of World Revolution." \$16

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# Separatists sow chaos in east Ukraine

Continued from front page

from Russia to undermine Ukrainian sovereignty and destabilize the country.

"The town where we lived before, Pripyat, was uninhabitable because of the radiation," said Viktoriia Babek, vice chair of the union. "After Chernobyl, people came from all over the former Soviet Union. They built Slavutych and joined in efforts to clean up the area after the disaster."

"There are people from 49 different nationalities here, from Russia, Donetsk, Lviv, all over Ukraine," Akamovich said. "By challenging our country, [Russian President Vladimir] Putin has brought us together in defense of Ukraine. Things won't ever be the same."

When *Militant* correspondents returned to Kiev that evening, Mikhailo Volynets, president of both the Confederation of Free Trade Unions and the Independent Trade Union of Coal Miners of Ukraine, described the impact of the separatist provocations.

"Miners and other workers are losing their workplaces," he said. "Miners have been kidnapped and tortured."

"Yesterday, Moscow-backed armed mercenaries invaded the Skochinsky mine in Donetsk," Volynets said. "They tied up the mine director and beat him in front of the miners, threatening them with worse unless they closed the mine. Miners in the east overwhelmingly oppose these attacks, but even though they far outnumber the thugs, they cannot match their heavy weaponry."

"I oppose the austerity measures the International Monetary Fund is pushing on Ukraine," he said. "The government wants to slash social benefits and says it will try and sell 38 of the 100 state-owned mines."

The IMF, the European Union, Ukrainian capitalists and new Ukrainian President Petro Poroshenko are pushing to slash government benefits, reduce gas and electricity subsidies and make business more profitable on the backs of working people.

Russia is still Ukraine's single biggest trading partner and supplies much of the country's energy. In March, Russian state-owned Gazprom raised the price of gas to Ukraine by 80 percent and is demanding Ukraine pay more than \$4 billion in supposed debts for fuel.

## New books draw lessons from US class struggle

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against the US government and its various secret police agencies, including the FBI, CIA, Military Intelligence, and what today is well known as the National Security Agency.

The suit was filed in 1973 and went to trial in 1981. The final rulings by a federal court judge in 1986 and 1987 rejected the arguments put forward by the government attorneys in defense of decades of disruption and spying. He issued an injunction saying that no document obtained by the government in ways that violate the US Constitution and Bill of Rights can be "used, released, or disclosed" by the FBI or other federal police agencies.

It is a ruling that stands to this day, one that helps keep open political space for working people to speak, organize, and act outside the electoral and judicial arenas — to fight on our own terrain, in the factories, on the picket lines, and in the streets.

Much of the documentation of the decades of Cointelpro operations by US police agencies came to light as a result of initiatives given impetus by the SWP suit. Cointelpro, a term many of you are familiar with, is the name of the FBI's Counterintelligence Program of spying and disruption directed at the labor, Black, and antiwar movements, as well as the Communist Party, the Socialist Workers Party and other political organizations opposed to government policies.

The SWP suit was filed at the height of what is known as the Watergate crisis. The entire liberal and left political spectrum was calling for Nixon's impeachment. The SWP said, "It will be no advance to replace one chief executive of the ruling class with another of their choosing. It will change nothing. Let's use their crisis instead to bring into the open their decades of covert operations, to educate the working class and our allies and fight to open political space to

Moscow has its own problems, including an economy dependent on energy exports at a time when prices are declining. The vast majority of Russian capitalists, concerned foremost with political stability and foreign relations that maximize profits, don't want war. And neither do most workers, tired of more than a decade of combat in Chechnya, Afghanistan and Georgia.

### Moscow pulls back from threat to intervene

The Russian government has backed off from its threats of direct military intervention and withdrawn troops from the Ukrainian border. Putin has recognized the election of Poroshenko and as part of recent negotiations has offered to reduce the price of gas.

Meanwhile, the heterogeneous separatist forces in eastern Ukraine are dividing. Separatist strongholds are increasingly being taken over by units calling themselves the Vostok Battalion, apparently made up of mercenaries tacitly backed by Moscow from Chechnya, Ossetia and other areas.

Near midnight June 8, camouflaged gunmen broke into the house of Vasyl Serdyukov, editor of *Serditaya Gazeta*, a newspaper that supports Ukrainian sovereignty, took him and his son for several hours and ransacked his home and office.

Residents in Donetsk reported June 10 that Oleg Zhelnakov, who is active in pro-Ukrainian demonstrations, was detained by separatist thugs and beaten.

Some 20,000 people have fled the region since April, according to the London *Financial Times*, most heading west to Dnepropetrovsk, Kiev and other cities, and some to the south or to relatives in Russia. Thousands of Crimean Tatars have also fled increasingly repressive conditions in their native homeland since its annexation by Moscow in March.

"Many arrive in Kiev almost every day now," Sergey Shevchuk, a participant in the protests in the capital that brought down the Yanukovych regime, told the *Militant* June 9. "These are workers, bringing children and carrying almost no money." He is one of a number of volunteers working to find them housing and financial aid.

Shevchuk says he has been transformed by the struggles of the past few months and remains committed to defend Ukraine's sovereignty.

## Grocery workers in LA rally for contract

# SF Muni 'sickout'

Continued from front page

city's contract proposal. The agreement, which covers more than 2,000 Muni employees, includes a 11.25 percent raise over two years, but is offset by a 7.5 percent increase towards their pension fund.

Operators' wages have been frozen for three years. The contract would allow the city to replace full-time drivers with part-time employees and requires a five-year wage progression for new hires where none exists now.

"Rather than improving wages and benefits," said a June 3 statement by Local 250-A, "the vast majority of drivers would be paid less in wages over the life of the agreement."

At the transit barns at Balboa Park and on 22nd Street, a number of Muni employees said the sickout was spontaneous.

"What we are making isn't that much given the cost of living," said Vicki, who has been a Muni driver for over two decades and didn't want her last name used. "I have friends who are reaching the point where they can't pay their mortgage. A lot of the passengers understand this and support us."

"We had to vote it down! They keep taking away more and more with every contract," an operator with 13 years on the job who asked not to be identified told the *Militant*.

City authorities and the big-business media immediately condemned the workers' action. Muni drivers "irresponsibly abandoned their jobs and intentionally disrupted our city's public transportation system," stated Mayor Ed Lee. The *San Francisco Chronicle* ran an editorial June 5 titled "No More Muni Wildcat Strikes," telling workers to "stay on the job, and get back to bargaining in good faith."

After full transit service was restored, City Attorney Dennis Herrera filed legal charges with the Public Employment Relations Board, saying Transport Workers Union Local 250-A had privately urged its membership to defeat the agreement and "fomented and supported" an illegal work stoppage.

Muni workers, like all San Francisco city employees, are prohibited from striking. Under Proposition G, approved by city voters in 2010, if union members reject a proposed contract, it goes to an arbitrator.

According to SFMTA spokesman Rose, if the union leadership does not meet with arbitrators by June 15 the old agreement will remain in effect for two years.

## BY BILL ARTH

EAST LOS ANGELES, Calif. — Hundreds of supermarket workers and their supporters rallied May 29 outside the El Super store here. For more than eight months, 575 members of the United Food and Commercial Workers union have worked for El Super without a contract. On May 2 the workers voted down what El Super bosses called their "last, best and final offer."

"I've worked for El Super for eight and a half years, and my wages are \$12.62 per hour," said Flora Castañeda. "Management is paid \$40 an hour to stand around and do nothing."

El Super has 46 stores in California, Arizona and Nevada, seven of which are union, according to Castañeda. "Our contract expired Sept. 27 last year. They've offered a \$1.30 raise over a five-year contract, 26 cents each year. We rejected that and we're going back to negotiations next week."

A union press release said the workers want "living wages, respect on the job, seniority rights, affordable health benefits, paid sick leave, and a guarantee of 40 hours per week for full-time workers."

UFCW delegations from around the region attended, including from Arizona and San Diego. Other unions participating in the action included Steelworkers, Teamsters, American Federation of State, County and Municipal Employees and many others.

All this is a taste of what these books contain. For us they are part of the basic arsenal with which we educate ourselves. We hope they will prove useful to you as they are to us.

4. Between 1975 and 1991, some 425,000 Cuban volunteers took part in the country's internationalist mission to Angola in response to requests from the Angolan government to help repel military invasions by the apartheid regime in South Africa.